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ABSTRACT

Following an introductory chapter on the general migration patterns in Alaska, this report concentrates on the towns of Barrow and Kotzebue. These towns are both affected by the migration of Alaskan natives from smaller to larger villages because of better wages, opportunities for more social interaction, and availability of amenities such as the medical and educational services in the larger villages. It is concluded that Barrow, while it is a boom-bust town economically, has enough social services and job opportunities to attract large numbers of migrants; however, neither the job opportunities nor the services are sufficient to meet the needs of the growing population. The problems of Kotzebue are reportedly more severe than those found in Barrow. The in-migration is of such magnitude that housing and sources of employment are quite inadequate, and the swelling of population is a strain on the economy. (DB)

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BARROW AND KOTZEBUE: AN EXPLORATORY COMPARISON OF ACCULTURATION AND EDUCATION IN TWO LARGE NORTHWESTERN ALASKA VILLAGES

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PREFACE

Professor Hipper's manuscript is reproduced in this format to provide wider circulation. Several reports by other authors on modern Indian and Eskimo adaptation patterns are in preparation.

Arthur M. Harkins
Richard G. Woods

INTRODUCTION: PATTERNS OF MIGRATION, URBANIZATION, AND ACCULTURATION

The following remarks are made with the intent to delineate the broad patterns of migration, urbanization and acculturation of Alaskan natives.

The above three conceptual categories are of course at different levels of abstraction: from the movement of peoples, which is often directly observable, to the less directly observable concept of urban adaptation, to the most general abstract notion of acculturation. There is a complex interpenetration of these phenomena, however, an elucidation of which can provide a framework within which to view the present historical moment in Alaska native life.

Prior to the time of contact with Euro-American civilization and for a significant period thereafter, Northern and Western Alaskan natives tended to live in small dispersed impermanent settlements, often composed of individual families or extended families. Periodically and at different seasons, depending upon the subsistence and ceremonial calendar, people would come together into groups - often of several hundred. With the exception of a few permanent villages - such as Point Hope (Tigara), Barrow and a few others, there were almost no large permanent settlements in the Northern and Western parts of Alaska[1] during this period. Gradually, and for a variety of reasons this dispersed population came to be concentrated in permanent villages.

There appear to be several stages in this process of agglomeration, some of which are completed and others still underway. With the advent of traders, missionaries and, in more recent times, medical and educational practitioners in the outlying areas of Alaska, native Alaskans began to settle in groups

near such services to take advantage of them. Such settlements were the beginnings of the present villages. As greater economic complexity was introduced into the area through mining and trapping, and as natives came to need more money to buy the newly discovered Euro-American material goods the population began to concentrate more and more in communities large enough to offer some cash employment. Alternatively men, and sometimes women, would leave villages for extended periods of time to travel to cash work as fire fighters, construction men, etc.

The concentration of the population in this region then appears to have evolved from small two or three-family settlements to villages of several hundred. At the same time migration was occurring both from these villages and from the very small family settlements into the large villages such as Barrow, Kotzebue, Bethel and Nome. As this process has accelerated, a new dimension in migration has become apparent. Many natives have left the small settlements, the villages and the large villages and become more or less permanent urban dwellers in Fairbanks and especially Anchorage.[2] Thus, it seems clear that there have been overlapping waves of migration starting before the turn of the 20th Century and resulting in larger and larger settlements.

Another factor in this agglomerative movement which needs noting is that it is not a uniform movement by age group. A consolidated age-sex pyramid for all the villages for which we have such information suggests that the out-migration (assumedly to the larger villages - urban centers - and other U.S. places) is heaviest among young adults. There are, for example, fewer individuals in age group 24-29 than in age group 40-44 in these villages. (See table 1.) Without being absolutely certain of the demographic breakdown of prior populations in this area, conclusions are risky, but it would

TABLE 1

AGE-SEX POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

COMPOSITE PYRAMID FROM:

Noorvik, Kiana, Kobuk, Shungnak, Ambler, Candle,

Deering, Buckland, Shishmaref, Golovin. Winter 1968.

1-1/4" = 50 people
1/4" = 10 people

MALES: 784

FEMALES: 793

75+	11		12
70–74	10		15
65–69	10		10
60–64	13		15
55–59	23		20
50–54	24		24
45–49	36		23
40–44	41		44
35–39	35		31
30–34	42		42
25–29	34		37
20–24	50		53
15–19	71		83
10–14	115		125
5–9	130		139
0–4	139		120

appear that the population curve suggests that older individuals are staying in the villages and young adults moving to the larger villages and cities.

If this were so one would expect to see a population curve expressing a declining number of births due to the smaller number of couples with children in the villages and the slowly declining birth rate. This should lead to a static or declining population. While this is true for some small villages, it is not true in the aggregate.[3] Instead, it appears that the population is still increasing in the villages. This probably reflects the drastic decline in infant mortality within the last two decades and the consequently greater number of living children per the number of young adult families.[4]

There are several implications that can be derived from these data. Though some very small villages may be absolutely disappearing, villages as such do not appear to be disappearing with anything like the rapidity that one may assume at first glance.[5] Though in some cases small villages have a rate of increase lower than that of the native population in the area as a whole, the large absolute number of young children in the villages suggests that, unless these children out-migrate en masse upon reaching adulthood (for which there is no present evidence), the villages will remain and grow. At the same time, large numbers of villagers are migrating to the large villages and urban Alaskan centers, bringing with them special problems.

This complex migratory pattern (including that of the temporary work-seeking-migrants) logically might be assumed to have led to an increase in the actual urbanization of Alaskan natives.[6] It appears, however, that this is only a partially accurate description of what has actually occurred. Though at present only one professionally trained anthropologist is undertaking a study of Alaskan native urban acculturation, and only the sketchiest of other information concerning Alaska native urbanization is available, I

wish to treat what appear to be the broad dimensions of the process below.

First, there is the overall interracial context of the urbanization process. Alaskan natives come into urban centers where the white population exhibits in varying degrees overt and covert racial prejudice, and very often as much discriminatory treatment of natives as is permitted by local law and customs. I have elsewhere[7] noted some of the reasons for and dimensions of this behavior. These same Alaskan natives find well-paid employment to be almost unavailable to them, in part because of racial prejudice and discrimination, in part because of their inadequate formal educational preparation. Often with limited competence in an adequate standard English, and because of the really serious difficulties attendant upon getting an adequate education in a small, poorly staffed and equipped, and isolated village school, the Alaskan native finds himself blocked from both economic and social access to the fuller richness of the urban environment.

The principal reasons for movement to urban areas appear to be a desire for cash work and a desire for the more exciting city life. Few find access to work, but many who remain do find the bars and thus some form of urban excitement. The new urban migrant appears to rely heavily on others from his village or kindred who have preceeded him, and it is usually through the filter of their perceptions and experiences that he comes to perceive and experience the urban environment.

One of the results of this selective urbanism appears to be an immediate and continuous negative contact with the police of Fairbanks and Anchorage. Many natives feel that the police are very prejudiced against them and harrass them continually. We concur strongly in this perception. Many police object to natives as "dirty drunks" who congregate on street corners and defile the city. In general the police exhibit a lack of tolerance for cultural difference with regard to Alaskan natives and treat them with contempt.

In the absence of available work many villagers in the city also come to learn how to use unemployment insurance and other forms of assistance to live on and learn how to manipulate "help" agencies as part of their routine of life. Most of their urban white contacts are with authorities such as the police, ambivalent agency personnel who must be manipulated for survival, servicemen on pass, construction workers on leave from the North Slope oil explorations, and the variety of drifters and predators who inhabit the undersides of cities, and who pass on certain aspects of the dominant culture's values through their interaction with the natives.

Many natives faced with what is essentially an unpleasant, or at least confusing, urban experience, return to the village of their origin. In turn, their related experiences produce expectations of the urban environment which condition the perceptions of future migrants. Thus cities come to be seen by many Alaskan natives prior to their visits to them, during such visits, and after, in a way which would seem deeply distorted to many whites.

Both the complex migratory phenomenon and the poorly understood urbanization of Alaskan natives exists within an overall framework of the general acculturative experience of Alaskan natives. This experience, as commented on by a number of authors[8], suggests that many Alaskan natives exhibit severe personal pathologies as a result of the difficulties attendent upon the several generations of acculturation.

Personal prestige for men has been eroded by a decline in the importance of the role of the hunter and minimal possibilities for entering fully into the cash economy. For women, the decline in subsistence activities has resulted in an even more severe decline in self-perceptions, especially in smaller communities where no wage labor exists to validate some meaningful role for women who are seldom required to sew, tan, fish and prepare materials

for the camp and the hunt as in the past.

Additionally, through time, many Alaskan natives have internalized a generally self-deprecatory attitude. Generations of school teachers and missionaries, often for what they felt were the very best of reasons, have overtly and covertly attacked native life ways, attitudes, values, religion and family life. Moreover, expectations by teachers that natives would do poorly have become in many cases self-fulfilling prophecies.[9]

One might almost say that native-white interaction has been so structured as to prevent native achievement in the white world. These native failures are then pointed to by many whites as justification for the policies of segregation and prejudice which have been instrumental in creating those failures.

Within this interlocking web of complex migratory patterns, selective urbanization and general acculturation stress are further complexities.

Some Alaskan natives do well in school and bring more sophisticated (by Western standards) perception of the village, Alaska and the world back to their homes. Some stay and become leaders and powers in their villages. Some stay and become simply private persons. Others leave and bring a more critical and sometimes angry voice to the urban environment in which they reside. There are also those urban migrants whose educational levels, values and adaptational abilities, as well as the occupation and income which result from them, permit them to stay and enter into the mainstream of American life (at least in the broadest sense). There are no hard data available on the number of people in this category.

This differential impact of education, exposure to urban life, and the ability to understand and manipulate the social order may well be on the way toward developing a strong class system among Alaskan natives. The caste system of the past, in which all natives ranked inferior to whites, appears to

be changing into a more complex caste-class system. The core of this system is differential acculturation and urbanization.

Presently, however, the actual dimensions of urban native acculturation are so poorly understood as to preclude saying much more than we have indicated above. To more adequately understand this pattern, research is needed to compare the motivations, background and experiences of positively and negatively adapting Alaskan natives, to identify the structure of opportunities and barriers to acculturation provided by the dominant culture, and to provide a more sophisticated understanding of the perceptual filters through which Alaskan natives view contemporary Alaskan (and Western) culture.

BARROW AND KOTZEBUE: AN EXPLORATORY COMPARISON OF ACCULTURATION IN TWO LARGE NORTHWESTERN ALASKAN VILLAGES[10]

One of the most dramatic aspects of culture change in North and Northwest Alaska is the shift from smaller to larger villages (or towns as they are called in this area). Over the past twenty years, there has been a continuous influx of people from the smaller surrounding villages into Barrow, Kotzebue, and Nome, and all evidence points toward a continuation of this trend.[11] It is therefore important to understand not only why this is happening, but what the quality of life in these places is, and what the results of this increase in village size portend.

The apparent reasons why many Northwest Alaskan Eskimos prefer these places (average size around 2,000) are that 1) in these large villages, some wage work is available; 2) there is more social interaction and usually much more excitement than can be found in small villages; 3) amenities and services (medical, educational, etc.) are either of easier access here than in villages or do not exist in villages at all; 4) there is the possibility of being close enough to a village atmosphere to permit the acculturating Eskimo the opportunity to have a "foot in both camps;" and 5) in addition to the intensity of close interpersonal relationships to which most Eskimos are accustomed from their small village background, which is only mildly attenuated in these larger villages, some degree of subsistence hunting and fishing is also possible in both of these communities.

The communities named, however, differ in the degree to which they fulfill these expectations and, indeed, in terms of the quality of life available in each. There are historical, structural, and partly accidental factors which contribute to these differences, but taken together, life in these villages fairly well covers the general range of quasi-urban acculturation possibilities open to Alaskan Eskimos.

It is in these villages that the impact of American institutions and white-native contact has begun to show its extreme effects. Here can be seen even more easily than in Fairbanks and Anchorage (for which there is presently only anecdotal information),[12] those areas of culture contact which have had the most important impact on Alaskan Eskimos. Here, also, the net result of the contact between Eskimo and white culture and changes in the quality of life for Alaskan natives in general can best be appreciated.

Quality of life is, of course, a difficult thing to measure, but criteria such as projective test results, specific observations of overt behavior, and the expressed attitudes of Eskimos in these communities can be lumped together to describe some rough measure of the personal dimension of life for Alaskan Eskimos in these communities. To this rough measure can be added indices of acculturation gathered through anthropological and other observations concerning such matters as: 1) degree of local indigenous political and economic control; 2) availability of wage work; 3) integration of wage work and subsistence hunting; and 4) dimensions of interracial contact. Together such insights can present a broad picture of what life is like in these big villages.

BARROW: HISTORY

Barrow is one of the most important Eskimo settlements and the site of significant long term contact between whites and Eskimos, even prior to the middle of the 1800's. Among the earliest reports of these contacts are those by John Murdoch,[13] who stayed in Point Barrow for two years, starting in 1881. He describes these people as entirely dependent on the animal kingdom for their food and clothing and for a large part of their weapons and implements. He noted that practically the whole of their existence was spent either in the chase, in making ready for the chase, or in preparing the products of the chase for use. This subsistence economy, based on maritime hunting and some inland

hunting, was balanced off with extensive trade with the Nunamiut Eskimos to the south and east. All reports of the Point Barrow Eskimos (part of the group known as the Tauremiut) suggest they were a very aggressive, competent, and independent group of Eskimos. This is still so today.[14]

The early group of Eskimos in Point Barrow furnished many men for the whaling expeditions of the 19th century in return for trade goods and material products of the Western civilization. At times, these goods were gotten not through trade but through outright aggression against the whaling vessels. The Barrow Eskimos had never been shy and generally assumed their own superiority over the white men during the early contact period.

Power in the community was held by individual hunters, capable of attracting numbers of other men in cooperative hunting expeditions, and by shamans. Shamans were extremely important as they were the curers and were believed to have magical powers of attracting game to hunters. Shamans, however, were also feared, because the people believed this magical power could be used to kill or injure. There was a general belief that all animals had spirits which were wiser than men and which had to be placated if the animals they represented were to continue making themselves available to man. A good shaman should be able to persuade the animals and elements to be favorable to the Eskimos. Many of the Eskimo festivals and hunting rituals were directed toward these spirits, and it is in this area of activity especially that the shaman derived his power.

Aboriginal Value Structure

Even though these individualistic leaders were common in the area, Eskimo values did not support the overweening individual who tried to dominate others. There was no organized structure to prevent one person's domination over the community, but if he became too threatening, he was killed, as were those shamans considered to be too dangerous.

Stefansson,[15] in work based principally on his travels in 1908 and 1911, suggests that though some changes had occurred in the physical life of the Eskimos, their values and life style were still very much the same as those reported upon by earlier investigators.

In 1924 Stefansson noted a phenomenon which persists till the present: the coastal Eskimos were maintaining their numbers, even in the face of a high infant and adult mortality rate. What was really happening, however, was a wholesale migration of inland Eskimos to the coast, replacing those who died from measles and other diseases. Death from disease was one of the most important results of Eskimo-white contact, at least in the early period from about 1870 to about 1920; however, contact brought other kinds of effects as well. In discussing the unintended impact of education, for example, Stefensson notes the Eskimos had great difficulty with Euro-American ideas. Concepts available in English are often foreign to the Eskimos and are reinterpreted by them in a sometimes incredible fashion and in a way the originator never intended. For instance, many Eskimos saw the American Revolution as being fought over "tacks" in the tea, which they could understand as a common fraud. Taxation, however, was incomprehensible to them since their attitude about social relationships was essentially that all men were absolutely equal. The relationship of master and man was unknown, and in a sense, Eskimo individuals behaved much like a sovereign state.[16]

Thus, school teachers or missionaries who would humiliate or, what was unthinkably worse to Eskimos, physically hurt a child to get him to believe what the teacher wanted him to believe so shocked Eskimos that they have never really been able to adapt to such approaches. On the other hand, their laissez-faire attitude toward the individual's desires did not interfere with work. Cooperative activity characterized the traditional hunting and fishing, especially for sea animals.

The general tone of Stefansson's work suggests that changes from the 1870's or so to the 1910's actually took the form of acceptance of certain Western material culture elements, reinterpretation of that which was incomprehensible, and rejection or ignoring of that which did not fit the aboriginal value structure. At about this time (1910's - 1920's) the impact of white civilization became so intense that it could not be easily ignored.[17] Not only had the diseases introduced by whalers periodically depopulated Eskimo groups, creating pressures for government medical aid,[18] but by the 1890's schools at Barrow and other villages had been established by the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education to "educate the natives." Thus, by the teens and twenties of the 20th Century, the dominant influences of Western culture were very strongly felt.

Change in the Economic System

But perhaps even more significantly, the Eskimos had become tied into an economic system over which they had little control.

After the collapse of whaling, the Eskimos turned in large numbers to fox trapping, since many Eskimos were not inclined at that time to return to their subsistence way of life and cash was available for furs. Income from trapping lasted until about 1929, when the Eskimos were literally forced back into subsistence through the collapse of the fox fur market because of world-wide depression. Fortunately, subsistence animals had once again become more plentiful, but the deleterious effects of earlier contact still were manifest in lowered health, uncertainty of economic future, and confusion over identity.

Chance[19] suggests that about half of the Eskimo men drafted from this area in World War II had to be discharged as physically unfit. Ninety per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis in Alaska during this period occurred among the Eskimo population. And in the village, the unstable, unpredictable economy

remained a fact of life, forcing villagers to rely substantially on welfare and allotment checks for the purchase of the essentials of Western manufacture. Nonetheless, wholesale cultural disintegration did not occur.

Cultural Persistence and Change

Spencer suggests that the Eskimo family was and is the key to understanding the sociology of the Barrow Eskimos.[20] We believe this also helps to explain cultural persistence in the area. The kinship (familial) bond was extended, in the past, to non-kin through voluntary associations and through trade. To some extent this still remained at the time of his writing. He maintained that as long as the bond of family remained strong, the Eskimos would be able to cope with acculturation, as the family gives emotional support to the individual. He suggested, however, that since many Eskimo children were then going away to school, changes probably would be much more noticeable in the next few years than they had been in the past.[21] M. Spencer also suggested that, in the past, this culture tried to raise individuals as useful members of the family, which was the basic economic unit, by inculcating virtues of efficiency, modesty, cooperation and a level of equality between members of the group.[22] This tended to produce an agreeable companion who was able to make the most of the present and who was capable of carefully planning activities for the next season. Similarly, contributions to group recreation such as dancing, singing and joking were highly valued, and since for hunters patience was a necessary virtue, a patient individual represented the ideal.

Today, industry, honesty, modesty, cooperation, patience, sociability and dignity continue to be stressed as virtues. Patience, however, although still highly prized, gives way in some instances to advice on the part of the parents that the child should stand up for himself and fight back if necessary.

This is a distinct change from the patterned submissiveness of the older culture. The young people, he suggests, are not learning the skills of the old culture. However, the boys still hunt a great deal. Old people are still respected and, as there was an absence of authoritarianism in the past, the old people do not resent the moderate loss of authority.

The genesis of certain attitudes which are fairly common to all Eskimos appears to lie in the manner in which the Eskimo child is socialized. As Spencer notes, child rearing basically tended to be mild and lenient, with an uneasiness about weaning and an openness about sleeping schedules based on the child's desires.[23] This is still the case. Feeding and toilet training both were very mildly dealt with and were initiated when the child could walk and be talked to. There was and is very little punishment for "accidents" with bowel movements.[24] This pattern still exists for the most part, though parents tend not to feel guilty about inculcating such behavior. The basic value emphases on equality rather than superordination/subordination, and on emotional freedom as well as a general lack of competition and fighting, still characterize most Eskimos.

BARROW: THE PRESENT[25]

The large village of Barrow, at 157° W. Longitude and approximately 71° N. Latitude, about 530 air miles northwest of Fairbanks, is the northernmost permanent United States settlement. The present population (1,811, including 160 Caucasians)[26] varies considerably during the year. Though most of the people are not absolutely migratory, many families move to fishing and hunting camps in summer, and others visit back and forth to smaller villages, as well as to Fairbanks and Anchorage.

Barrow has excellent tele-radio communications to other parts of Alaska, and two airports adjacent to the village. The airports are, in fact, the

major terminals for goods used but not manufactured in Barrow, which includes nearly everything used there except subsistence food items. Journeying from Barrow to the smaller communities such as Anaktuvuk Pass, Kaktovik, and Wainwright, when not by plane, is primarily by snow machine. In the past, dogteams were the major means of transportation throughout the area, but at the present time, these have been almost entirely replaced by snow machines here as in many other communities in native Alaska.

Local Political Autonomy

Barrow has long had a tradition of being a good place to live. The community has a large measure of local political and social control and is seen by Eskimos everywhere as a strong and vital community. Navy construction during World War II and the presence of Distant Early Warning Site construction site contractors, maintenance men and the like, as well as a sizeable white community at the Arctic Research Laboratory (ARL), have not disrupted the community as they might have. In part, this is because of the original Navy policy of hiring local men to help with construction, thus avoiding the disruptive effects of large numbers of itinerant construction workers and the inevitable attendant interracial conflicts (e.g. "outsiders" having more money than local men and thus monopolizing young local women), and economic dislocations, such as disparate incomes between local people and transients creating inflationary pressures on local commodities.

Presently, the "gentlemen's agreement" between ARL and the village keeps "undesirable" whites out of the village, and the presence of all ordinary amenities at the ARL station offers little inducement to ARL personnel to "prowl the village." The potential unpleasant effects of this quasi-segregation are mitigated by the fact that there is generally employment in Barrow for natives, and that natives have total political control over

their community. Though not idyllic, the arrangement seems stable and mutually agreeable to the various contractors and the village. While no overt pressures are brought to bear, it is clear that "troublemakers" will be summarily fired by the major contractors in the area, and this has materially reduced the number of unpleasant incidents between whites and natives.

Income and Employment

Employment in Barrow, though at levels which would be unacceptably low anywhere else in the United States, is substantial for native Alaska. Best local estimates suggest that from 60 to 75 per cent of the adult job-seeking population is employed.[27] The major employers are the Bureau of Indian Affairs (construction), the Arctic Research Laboratory, Vinnell Corporation, and Federal Electric. Additional Barrow residents have jobs with the Public Health Service Hospital, the local municipal utilities, or in one of the dozen or so small private enterprises such as hotels, restaurants, and retail establishments.

Income varies, but the permanent income through wages for natives is approximately $50,000 per month. This figure increases to well over $100,000 (perhaps $200,000) per month in summer. Some $30,000 - 35,000 per month in Social Security, approximately $10,000 per month in state welfare payments and some $4,000 in unemployment insurance are additional sources of income. (See Table 2)

This substantial cash income essentially had its start about twenty years ago. Roberts notes that by May 1946, the average income at Point Barrow was $250 to $1500 per year.[28] In June of that year, however, 35 men from Barrow were initially hired by the Navy, and shortly thereafter an additional 50. This initial employment worked so well that the Navy decided to use local Eskimos in more highly skilled jobs, such as driving trucks and

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Employer	Number of Natives Employed	Total Monthly Income
B.I.A. (P.D.C.)	70 full time 7 half time	$72,766.00 (Aug. & Sept.,1967)
Bank	1	325.00
Al Schontz--General Store	8	6,000.00
Al Hopson--Cafe	5	2,250.00
A.N.I.C.A Store	6 (plus 100 needed every Sept. to unload North Star)	2,949.00
S. Hopson--Cafe, Theater	3	2,200.00
E. Hopson (the City)	3	1,600.00
Barrow Utilities	33	21,929.00
Soda Fountain	5 (1 Non-Native)	4,000.00
Wien Air Alaska	6	4,000.00
Weather Bureau	1	150.00
A.N.I.C.A. Laundry & Hotel	4	212.00
Brower's Stores	3 @ $2.00/hour	
Brower's Cafe	4 @ $2.00/hour	
Brower's Hotel	2 @ $2.00/hour	
	9	2,880.00
Crow Theater: July	9	
August	8	
September	9	
$3.00/hour for ticket takers $2.50/hour for projectionists $5.50/hour for the band - 5		700.00
Crow Drycleaner	1 @ $2.00/hour, 4 hours/day	60.00
Post Office	1 @ $2.99/hour + 25% COLA	
	4 @ $2.64/hour + 25% COLA	
	5	2,010.00
Janitor - lowest bidder for job. $72.50 every two weeks, 3 hours per day, 6 days per week		144.00

TABLE 2
(Continued)

Employer	Number of Natives Employed	Total Monthly Income
Presbyterian Church		
Assistant Minister: $6,250.00 per year Free house and all utilities Pension Two week paid vacation $600.00 travel expenses $350.00 taxes; social security		50.00
Part-time Custodian: 2 @ $2.00/hour		320.00
Assembly of God Church	No employees	-----
Catholic Church	No employees	-----
Burgess Construction Company	Information not available	-----
National Guard	Information not available	-----
Arctic Research Lab	40 approx.	33,000.00
Vinnel Corp.	28 approx.	19,500.00
P.H.S.	26 approx.	16,900.00
	TOTAL	193,900.00

operating heavy equipment, instead of using them simply for unloading and heavy labor.

The Navy also permitted the Barrow Eskimos to use Naval heavy equipment to improve health and sanitary conditions; it shipped in houses, and made recommendations to the local commander that housing conditions should be improved with his help. Moreover, the Navy suggested that if local men needed time off without pay to hunt and fish, this should be permitted. The continuation of subsistence hunting was strongly encouraged, because the Navy realistically assumed that it would have to leave the area some day, while the people would stay.

Obviously, the existence of massive government expenditures through the Navy and later through the variety of contractors and sub-contractors, the DEW Line stations, and the Arctic Research Laboratory has generated adequate money to maintain some local business in Barrow. These jobs, and an increased number of services (including schooling and the local hospital) have attracted large numbers of people to Barrow.

In-migration

Migrants into Barrow are a significant factor in its growth. The dimensions of this migration are substantial in their impact on other small communities. For example, the local magistrate notes that since 1960, all of the inhabitants of Point Lay with the exception of one family (approximately 50-60 people) moved to Barrow. Since 1960, two families numbering 13 people have moved from Anaktuvuk (village of only slightly over 100 persons), Barter Island has contributed eight people to Barrow, and 20 to 25 people from Wainwright have migrated to Barrow as have 20 to 30 people from Point Hope. In-migration has been substantial since 1950.

There are good reasons for believing that this migration will continue.

The school, employment, and the existence of a hospital all act as magnets to the population of the broader area. An additional factor is that this group of people from Barter Island to Point Hope has always had close cultural ties. The Anaktuvuk people also have had strong ties with this group. Migration was in the past a way of life, and a settled place to live was an unnecessary luxury. As work and education become more and more tied to a geographic location, the permanence of the population in Barrow seems more and more assured. It is not so likely that there will be large numbers of permanent migrants to the cities from Barrow in the near future.

Rice, Saroff and Fuller[29] note that although there is a very high out-migration (about 3.1 per cent per year), Barrow's remarkably high birth rate has kept the population growing at a rate of about 1.3 per cent per year. This does not, however, adequately describe the reasons for the present population size. Specifically, it is the out-migration of women and in-migration of families which is demographically relevant, and which has important social implications. The birth rate and in-migration, plus a lower out-migration than the report assumes, are accounting for the steady increase in Barrow's population.

The town magistrate's figures of births and deaths in the recent past are, for example:

Year	Births	Deaths
1965	115	7
1966	88	20
1977	85	18 (est.)

(Actual figures for 1967 were 73 births and 16 deaths until October 27.)[30]

Marriages, as may be seen in the following table, have not increased at the rate at which the population has expanded.

Marriages[31]

Year	No. of Marriages	Average Age Males	Females
1960	8	28.82	21.46
1961	11		
1962	13		
1963	20		
1964	15		
1965	14		
1966	17	25.72	21.75
1967	18		

In the face of the rapidly increasing population, what these figures suggest is that there is a declining birth rate and a declining marriage rate. The magistrate's figures also indicate a late age for marriage and a continuous migration of women out of Barrow. All of this suggests that rapid changes are occurring in the village. But it is not demographic changes alone which are occurring, nor do these demographic changes occur in a vacuum. One of the more critical aspects of life in Barrow is the peculiar cycle of prosperity.

The Rice, et al., report, concerned as it was with economic development, detailed the recent boom-bust in Barrow.[32] Construction projects (DEW Line, PHS hospital, BIA school, etc.), occur cyclically, leaving depressed troughs and high unemployment in their wake which are only alleviated by the next construction project. Since federal construction is not evenly spaced to maintain a steady level of employment, the cycle continues unabated. Its consequences, however, are more serious than wide swings in employment.

Barrow's attractions, especially the service amenities, help create a population with large numbers of dependents. When basic employment drops, these families without cash resources, who stay to be near hospitals and schools for their children, are seriously affected. This is crucial in Barrow because, even though the people there are accustomed to living primarily off subsistence foods, the fact is that "felt needs" for the white man's goods are

very great. Having become used to these modern services, it is difficult for Eskimos to return to smaller villages even when employment opportunities decline. These families begin to be characterized by a very un-Eskimo trait - geographical immobility. The concomitant lowered status of a man who can no longer truly provide for his family is only partly alleviated by access to subsistence hunting.

Integration of Subsistence Hunting and Wage Work

Interestingly, the "ideal" family in Barrow is one in which one or two adult males work full time for cash and one or two hunt more or less full time. Since hunting takes at least some money (to buy snow machines, maintain and fuel them), it is almost necessary to combine these two activities. The very poor have a hard time hunting effectively. Great prestige does accrue to the good hunter, and some families take as many as 50-100 caribou per year.[33]

Nonetheless, there are a limited number of jobs available and no real potential for many more, although the development of the oil industry offers a possible long-run alternative. Rice, et.al., reject the possibility of vocational training as a meaningful economic aid; native arts and crafts and the static-level of federal defense research are rejected as bases on which to project future large scale employment. The large-scale out-migration which they suggest as a potential answer is unlikely, and it is difficult to forecast any level of economic development adequate to assuage the increasingly felt Eskimo need for things which only cash can buy. Thus, while the economic aspects of acculturation may have reached an impasse, the situation is better here than in most small Alaskan native villages.

Interracial Contact and Quality of Life

Acculturation is more than the absence or presence of jobs and people's

willingness to take them. It involves the totality of re-adapting one's way of life to new and sometimes strikingly different patterns. The price of such change is often very high. If the dominant culture is presented in such a way that members of the recipient culture see themselves as inadequate, great personal damage can be done to those recipients. This can even take the form of rejecting members of one's own ethnic group as marital partners due to their perceived low status. This has begun to happen in Barrow.

Marriages

Race	1960-1961	1966-1967
Eskimo/Eskimo	8	20
Eskimo/Indian	3	1
Eskimo/Caucasian	5	9
Caucasian/Caucasian	3	5

In 1966 and 1967 combined (for those marriages for which information is available), there were 20 marriages of Eskimos to Eskimos, one marriage of Eskimo to Indian, nine marriages of Eskimos to Caucasians, and five marriages of Caucasians to Caucasians. Of the Eskimo-Caucasian marriages during this period, three families have left the community and six have remained. During the 1960-1961 period, according to the magistrate's records, there were eight Eskimo-Eskimo marriages, three Eskimo-Indian marriages, five Eskimo-Caucasian marriages, and three Caucasian-Caucasian marriages. Of these Eskimo-Caucasian marriages, two couples have remained in the area and three have left. About one-third of the native marriages have been with Caucasians.

This particular Eskimo-Caucasian pattern of marriage is of extreme social importance in Barrow. For example, none of the marriages nor any of those recorded in the magistrate's records for the period 1960 to 1967, in-

clusive, are of Caucasian women to Eskimo men. All of the Eskimo-Caucasian marriages are of Eskimo women to Caucasian men. Additionally, marriage statistics in Barrow do not reflect all marriages of Barrow natives to whites; many such marriages occur elsewhere. The local magistrate's assumption is that these marriages, if added, would double the figure of such unions. Their social importance arises in that it indicates a pattern of upward mobility available to Eskimo women which is apparently not available to Eskimo men. Such marriages occur with enough frequency to convince Barrow girls that it is possible and to convince young Barrow men that they are second-rate catches.

Anti-white feelings which might conceivably result from such a situation are already beginning to be felt. It is easy to elicit anti-white comments from young men when they are drunk. As one young Eskimo said in anger to me, "I don't like whites in this town at all." This rise of anti-white sentiment has not reduced the desire of Eskimo girls for white males. On the contrary, many of the prettiest and brightest girls continue to leave the community (aided by the placement of a BIA high school outside of Barrow in the south of the state) with the often overtly stated desire to marry a white man. This is both a result and a cause of ambivalence toward their own culture on the part of Alaskan natives, inevitable in part, and in part fostered by past and current educational practices.[34]

Education

Education has been and continues to be a crucial aspect of acculturation in Barrow. There is presently a Bureau of Indian Affairs school in the village with a 1967-1968 native enrollment of 489 children, providing the grades kindergarten through tenth. No high school as such exists in Barrow although one is planned. Graduation from the junior high school (tenth grade) tends to be seen as terminal in many cases, though some children do leave Barrow

to go to Mt. Edgecumbe and other BIA-sponsored high schools in the southern part of the state and outside the state. Without accurate figures, it is impossible to be certain that those individuals who receive further training, especially girls, tend to stay away from Barrow permanently. Those children who drop out of school or finish only the junior high school level tend to come back to Barrow, especially if they are boys.

Differential response to education is one aspect of the acculturation situation; what the school itself does is another. The local school board, elected by the Barrow residents at the urging of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is an attempt by the Bureau to introduce a greater degree of local involvement in school activities. Its functions are advisory, but it is instructive to note that the local population elected three whites out of five members to the board. This may suggest that they see its role as involving relationships with white-dominated bureaucracies, and that whites are viewed as better able to handle these problems than natives. The board has so far not attempted to make any serious changes in the school. The school personnel themselves are uncertain about their function.

The school itself is beginning to utilize ungraded classes to make up for problems always prevalent in a semi-literate and bi-lingual community, and the pupil/teacher ratio has been reduced to one to twenty-four, which is considered a good ratio by teachers. Severe internal problems do exist in the school and inthe relationship of the school to the community, however.

The school administration tends to reflect recent changes in the Bureau of Indian Affairs policies toward natives. Instead of paternalism, a more immediate involvement of the local population in educational and other decisions and the extending of "democracy" into Bureau/client relationships is stressed. Even with well-meaning administrators, however, some teachers do not always

interpret directives toward democratization as they are meant. There seem to be two almost polar types of teachers in the Barrow school. On the one hand are teachers who express disapproval both with the BIA and with the community, who fear "coddling" the natives, who believe that one needs a "leverage over the kids or you can't get them to study," and who feel the primary educational problem in Barrow is one of discipline. Other complaints from these disgruntled teachers are that teaching materials are poorly suited to the area, and that the BIA is more interested in "not rocking the boat" than taking specific action to facilitate change. Perhaps most importantly, many of the teachers in this group appear to feel that they are not being treated as professionals, that they had little to say in the development of policy or educational content and could expect little support from the BIA itself in their conflicts with local people over "discipline." Among this disaffected group, the question of physical punishment was prominent, and they were concerned that they were not permitted to use it. Some consciously saw their role as custodial and favored severe physical force as a technique of control.

On the other hand, a second group of teachers, who seemed to identify both with the community and with administration directives at the same time, was in evidence. These teachers may have been using the new changes in BIA policy (i.e., that of greater leniency toward students) to support their established attitudes toward teaching. These teachers tended to get along with students very well, and expressed the belief that the students were not noticeably different from students anywhere else. The students also responded positively to such teachers, and we might note, negatively to those who were disaffected. The lack of ambivalence of this group of teachers about the supposed problems of discipline and over their own self-image meant that they usually had very few discipline problems. [35]

Additional complications in teacher/community relationships stem from the fact that the BIA school buildings, while extremely modern and located only 200 yards from the main street in Barrow and from the major gathering place in the village (the soda fountain), seem to be surrounded by an invisible moat. That is, some of the BIA school teachers are reputed never to have been "downtown," and most are reputed never to have spent a social evening with any of the Eskimos in the community. This "enclave" attitude embitters many local people and suggests to them condescension and attitudes of superiority on the part of BIA personnel.[36]

The kinds of feelings about themselves which Eskimo children develop in such a situation are essentially negative. Teachers whose dedication, inventiveness, and intelligence are inhibited by rigidity do not make the kinds of adjustments necessary to deal with people from a different cultural background. Eskimos, culturally oriented toward non-competitive aspects of life, ordinarily do not exhibit the kind of enthusiastic answering response to the teacher's questions in the classroom that whites are accustomed to showing.[37] Eskimo child-rearing, having prepared Eskimo children to think of themselves as adults (or at least free agents) from a very early age, clashes with the more hierarchical, rigid, and puritanical notions exhibited by many of the teachers at the school. The concern of many teachers over early sexual experimentation and pre-teenage smoking (both fairly common in Barrow), as well as their belief that a child should be seen and not heard except when he is responding precisely in the way an adult wants him to, creates continual conflict with the children.

Additionally, Eskimo children in Barrow are exposed to the view propounded by many teachers that the only meaningful existence in the modern world is to become a part of white culture. What cultural difference still exists in this

community is openly denigrated by some of these teachers and some natives. This denigration inevitably results in producing ambivalent feelings in the minds of the children about themselves and their own way of life.[38] On the one hand, they are Eskimo; on the other, they ambivalently despise and admire the white culture.[39] Children in such circumstances cannot help but develop a belief that there is something about their village life which is innately and inherently inferior, and, by extension, something inferior about themselves. Documentation is growing to support the hypothesis that a child's self-perception and consequent intellectual ability are vitally determined by teachers' overt and covert attitudes.[40] Bureau of Indian Affairs selection policies for teachers, however, do not seem to have adapted to this perception in Barrow.

Value Changes

If marriage patterns indicate growing disaffection with Eskimoness and Eskimo ways, a disaffection first inculcated in the educational system, local adult attitudes on many other matters have been equally colored by anti-Eskimo ethos.

For example, the local magistrate and town elders (Eskimo themselves) have adopted a white "pathological" interpretation of many "Eskimo" kinds of behavior, especially sexual activity at a young age, while the villagers on the whole have not.[41] Recently, the magistrate (by her own admission) removed from the village 13 young girls between the ages of 13 and 15 whom she termed cases of "serious promiscuity." All have been removed from the community and placed elsewhere - nine in correctional institutions and five in foster homes. Precisely what constitutes sexual promiscuity is difficult to determine by discussion with any of the town elders. Moreover, the town elders and the local magistrate feel that social deviancy of this type, as well as child neglect and child beating, are the result of over-use of alcohol.

In this scenario, parents and grandparents, both drinking heavily, are unable to care for their children and their inaction is the cause of problems. There is a further concern in the minds of the older people that this antisocial activity is correlated with a drop in church membership.

This again suggests the concern of the town elders with essentially non-Eskimo values. Many of the town elders also see the present social situation in this small town in terms of fundamentalist religious concepts. This has created and undoubtedly will continue to create severe social divisions in Barrow. For example, the anti-liquor ordinance is honored as a dead letter, and there is great agitation by drinkers to make the sale of liquor legal in town. There is also agitation on the part of anti-drinkers against those people who continue to import liquor into the town and to drink it. But the elders have other fears.

Town elders suggest that a reduction in the ability to hunt is going to be a serious problem at the end of the two- or three-year construction boom, presently ongoing, as youngsters are "not learning to make a living by hunting." They feel this lack creates a tremendous need for education as an alternative way of making a living, and this is one of the reasons why many of the people in the community want a regional high school located there. Yet this concern is not shared by the young.

By and large, the perceptions of town elders about the changes that are occurring in their community are a mixture of reality orientation and puritanically-based value judgments. The elders agree on a need for more jobs, but many see this in a moralistic context. Idleness is "evil and degrading." There is concern about adopting "white" customs such as "promiscuity," when the actual behavior involved is probably closer to aboriginal Eskimo norms than to white. In general, it would appear as though the town elders have accepted a "progress"

ethic and have become overtly anti-Eskimo. There is continual expressed fear of "going to the dogs on welfare" in addition to the fear about alcoholism.

If the perceptions of the town elders are fearful about these matters, the best data available independent of their judgments suggest that their concerns are inappropriately directed.

In reality, overt measurable indices of social disorganization such as AFDC payments have risen much less than the rise in population in the last six years. State welfare cases have almost kept pace with the population growth which tends to indicate a lesser degree of social pathology than many of the older villagers themselves suspect exists. Alcoholism, a concern of many of the villagers, is not seen in the same light by the Public Health Service personnel in the village. The Public Health Service personnel describe the local alcoholic consumption rate as high, but find almost no clear evidence of alcoholism in the community. They describe the type of alcohol consumption current among Eskimos as being rapid spree drinking. It is not the same as chronic alcoholism and does not lend itself to the same kinds of medical problems. That is, there is almost no cirrhosis of the liver, organic brain damage, laryngeal lesions, etc., which are evidences of true alcoholism, among this population. Perhaps only a half dozen people at the most in the village might be considered alcoholics by PHS. The white population evidences a much higher level of alcoholism and potential alcoholism than the native population, according to local PHS personnel.

But, where alcoholism is not a direct medical problem, much of the trauma which occurs in the village is a result of drinking. Certainly, wife beating and child neglect are exacerbated by heavy drinking. Maybe as many as 70 percent of the injuries in town are related to heavy drinking.

Moreover, though alcoholism is considered to be an important problem

in the village by many of the village people and the whites who are in attendance here, information available from a local psychologist working at the Arctic Radiation Laboratory,[42] who has made a study of this particular problem, indicates that, according to figures based on 1967 cargo manifests (all alcohol must be imported by air freight), the 160 whites drank two and a half times as much in absolute amounts as the approximately 900 Eskimo adults. He assumes that the per capita drinking by whites in Barrow is fifteen times as great as the drinking by Eskimos. Moreover, though there is no absolute certainty of this, his assumption is that the amount of hard liquor consumed by whites is even greater than that consumed by natives, who tend to rely heavily on beer.

Though no doubt some of the alcohol which is going to whites in the area eventually finds its way to Eskimos, it seems clear that what is considered an alcohol problem may very well be a question of perception. If native drinking is done in a different fashion than white drinking, that is, if natives drink to get drunk and go out on the street or meet their friends where they are more visible, they may more easily be seen as social problems than the white who drinks quietly in his room. It is probably this cultural difference in the technique of drinking rather than the total amount of drinking that is done - and the incidence of alcoholism - which makes many whites suggest that natives in the area are prone to alcoholism.

We are not implying that the village has no important social problems. In the face of the kinds of acculturative stress with which the Barrow residents have had to deal over the past seventy years, social problems have eventually taken their toll on local social structure and family structure.[43] But, one person's pathology is another's health. The concern of the magistrate and town elders about drinking and sex evidence a difference of perception from the more

fundamentally destructive aspects of local education. Uncertainty over values, and the collapse of informal social control mechanisms, both related to generational disruptions, seem to indicate the potential for serious social disturbance in the future.

BARROW: CONCLUSION

In Barrow there is effective indigenous political control integrated in a fairly stable fashion with informal Western institutions. Some wage work is available and there is a substantial integration of this wage work with subsistence hunting. Interracial contacts are on the formal level, secure, friendly, and non-obtrusive. Yet, this is not the entire picture.

The entire past quality of native-white contact has resulted in a middle-aged and elderly leadership which has internalized certain "white" norms which are at a divergence from the actual behavior of villagers. Younger people, increasingly dissatisfied with a second class citizen status, unsure of themselves, under intense pressure to renounce their own beliefs and attitudes, are in covert rebellion, or migrating out.

Barrow is a community undergoing boom-bust economic conditions, but one whose social services and job opportunities are attracting large numbers of migrants from smaller villages. At the same time, neither the job opportunities nor some of the services are really adequate for the needs of the growing population. While health and welfare services are adequate, educational and recreational ones are clearly not. Nonetheless, with its tradition of independence and self-competence, its large degree of local social and political control, and its immediate access to a sound and fully adequate subsistence base, it is in better shape than other communities of like size. The problems of Kotzebue, for example, are much more severe.

KOTZEBUE: HISTORY

Kotzebue is a fourth-class city on the Baldwin Peninsula in Kotzebue Sound, with a 1967 population estimated by the BIA at 1,740. It is a predominantly Eskimo community with about 14 per cent white population (Kotzebue Community Survey, 1964), in an area that has long been a trade and communication center for the entire Kobuk-Noatak-Selawik River drainages. Relationships between the Kotzebue Eskimos, aboriginally called the Kikitarmiut, and other Eskimos of the area are of long standing (especially with the Eskimos of the Buckland area, Eastern Kotzebue Sound, the northern Seward Peninsula including Shismaref and Wales, the Kobuk River, the Middle Noatak River, the Selawik River, and the people of Point Hope). Nelson notes that most of the life patterns, subsistence activities, and values common to northwest Eskimos generally were also true for the Kotzebue coast region.[44]

Social Organization

Aboriginally, the people were dependent upon sea mammal and land mammal hunting. The social organization was a loosely structured set of kin obligations, extended to non-kin through formal friendship patterns, adoption, and wife-lending. Male solidarity played an important role in organizing the community, and the men's house, or "kashim" was a center for the reception of guests, thereby strengthening social ties to other communities. It was also used for dances, festivals, and games.

Prior to contact, the importance of kinship and of close social organization went far beyond the ordinary needs of communal enterprise. Among the Kotzebue Eskimos, survival in crisis situations often depended on the ability of an individual or family to obtain assistance from mutually obligated members of the kin group.[45] Smith, citing Nelson,[46] indicates that Kotzebue Eskimos would not hesitate to kill each other if the opportunity arose to gain an

additional rifle or a few skins. Thus, in order to effectively hunt in the mountains, men could only trust each other if they were the closest of kin. Marriage naturally expanded the kinship setting in which one belonged, and was an important way of insuring survival. Marriage and wife exchange were specific mechanisms of kindred extensions.[47] Another technique which expanded the kinship group (or the "Illyagiit") was child adoption. This was perhaps the single most important technique for cementing bonds between individual families. To some extent the practice has remained, though its true meaning is no longer immediate.

In Kotzebue as elsewhere in Northwest Alaska, the broadly permissive child rearing pattern led to an acceptance of adult individuality and strong emphasis on the values of fidelity, honesty and cooperative action. However, though hospitality was an important virtue, strangers were often put to death if they had no friendship or kin tie in the community. As we shall see this distrust of strangers is still a local problem.

Traditional local leadership developed primarily in relationship to trading activities. The Umelik, or owner of the umiak which was used in the trading expeditions, tended to be an important man in most villages in Northwest Alaska. The Umelik in Kotzebue at the turn of the century, acknowledged to be the shrewdest and most able man of the village, had ammassed his wealth by sharp trading and skillful hunting, and was accorded considerable status and respect.[48] The Kikitarmiut were also generally known for their sharp trading practices and for their overbearing attitude vis-á-vis whites. At present there are no existing Umeliks, a fact of great importance.

KOTZEBUE: THE PRESENT

In-migration and Changing Economics

More than in Barrow, the stresses and tensions resulting from white-

Eskimo contact have become overt. If there are still strong "Eskimo" attitudes and a great degree of local control in Barrow, this is no longer true in Kotzebue. There has been a long-standing migration into the district since World War II because of the growth of government agencies, private business, and the existence of an elementary school, which also adds to the dynamically changing character of the village.

Based on BIA population figures in Kotzebue, there appears to be a gradual increase of the young akult and late teen-age population. Part of this increase is due to migration as Parker has noted.[49] Smith estimates the number of seasonal migrants as approximately 400, or very close to 20 per cent of the standing population.[50] Some of the migration into Kotzebue probably is related to the decrease of young adult populations in nearby villages. Within the five-year period from 1960-1965, for example, 70 Eskimo families, mostly from Noatak, Point Hope, and Noorvik, migrated from the outlying villages to Kotzebue. These migrants constitute 30 per cent of the present households. In-migration has been continuous since World War II, though at a somewhat slower rate than the present one. By 1965, approximately 60 per cent of the population was derived from non-Kotzebue families. Eskimo migrants cite four reasons for re-settlement in Kotzebue, ranked in the following order: 1) wage employment; 2) proximity to the hospital; 3) school facilities; and 4) the advantages of cosmopolitan living.[51]

However, there are few businesses or enterprises in the community that offer any large-scale steady employment to the native population. The predominant configuration of economic life in Kotzebue is that employed residents working in the traditional Eskimo pursuits of hunting and fishing for the other part. An additional strain is placed on the economic productivity of the village because 48 per cent of the population is under 14 years of age[52]--

an effect attributable largely to recent reductions in the local infant mortality rate.

In her extensive study of this community, Smith discusses the general social and economic context in more detail.[53] Contemporarily, she points out that Kotzebue has become a small cosmopolitan center, and offers previously non-existent facilities for serving a large hinterland. English has become the prime medium of communication, and has practicably replaced Inupik. Two major government agencies operate here to service the Eskimos: the U.S. Public Health Service which maintains a hospital in Kotzebue, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs which maintains a school.

Two supermarkets with a combined inventory of nearly one million dollars in goods supply the local residents. The Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association (ANICA) stores in this area often run out of supplies before the supply vessel, the North Star, arrives.[54] Kotzebue has a motion picture theater and restaurant. In addition to this, street lights, plowed roads in winter, dependable electric service to every house, delivered water, regular garbage pickup, telephone service, taxis, and a Norge Cleaning Village contribute to the feeling that Kotzebue, devoid only of T.V., is similar to small towns elsewhere in the United States.

Cash in Kotzebue is an indispensable part of economic life. Because of the mixed and heterogeneous economy, it is difficult to delineate well-defined patterns of the economic cycle of activities, except that it can be said with assurance that for a long time all the skilled positions in the community were filled by whites. Until recently, most native subsistence activity consisted of hunting.

In Kotzebue, indigenous political control is a formal reality, but real power and control reside in the hands of whites to a greater degree and much

more overtly than in Barrow. Wage work is available, but it is spotty, seasonal, and poorly integrated with subsistence hunting. A substantial amount of subsistence hunting and fishing is done, but it does not appear to have the same importance that it does in Barrow. Most importantly, interracial contact here is characterized by a social structure in which whites are dominant and tend on the whole to look down on the subordinate Eskimo.

Eskimo Powerlessness in Kotzebue

For Kotzebue, as opposed to Barrow, we have systematic observations and the results of projective psychological tests to indicate just what the effects of acculturation have been. In Kotzebue the results of systematic anti-native feeling and denigrating white-native contact are much more obvious and severe for a variety of reasons. Personal insecurity, well-developed self-denigration, and extreme confusion about one's role in life (indeed, the very meaning of that life) are endemic among the young.

There are a number of reasons for the general lack of Eskimo participation in the civic affairs of their community,[55] though this is slowly changing. It would be easy to say that Eskimos have simply not yet learned Western political habits, but this "explanation" misses the major dimensions of the problem entirely.

Political disinterest is a realistic Eskimo response to personal political impotence and the overwhelming power of whites in Kotzebue is by and large wealthy by local standards, and there is severe native antagonism toward it. This white leadership, because it has more money, is capable of buying its entire year's needs at one time; thus, local white purchases normally include only fresh milk, meat, and produce, and much of this is ordered by air cargo from Anchorage. Consequently, the whites pay few city sales taxes. Eskimos, lacking the capital for advanced buying in bulk, are forced to buy locally

with the accompanying sales tax. This condition makes the sales tax even more regressive than it ordinarily would be,[56] and native anger over this fact is great.

Whites control nearly all the businesses and most of the capital wealth of the community. Knowledgeable about Western economic relationships, they have overwhelmed Eskimo "sharp traders."[57] Adding to the problem is the fact that most Kotzebuers are not from Kotzebue, as we have noted, because of extensive in-migration from many of the nearby smaller villages. Also, as Smith points out, factionalism resulting from large scale in-migration has created a clannish situation, making native-native cooperation quite difficult.[58]

The last problem is further compounded by religious divisions. Parker notes that there are five active churches in town: Friends, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Episcopal, and Baptist. The existence of five different churches in a town of this size serves to reduce community cohesion, and produces schisms between different groups. The Episcopal group, for example, is close to its church near one end of town, and since many of them were originally from Point Hope, they are viewed by the townspeople as outsiders. As Smith notes, Eskimos will point to nebulous sections of town identified as "Point Hope Village" or "Where the Noatakers Live." Individuals are as clearly defined in terms of their origins as immigrant communities in New York or Chicago. Smith points out that a Kotzebue resident referred to his neighbor of 32 years with the following criticism: "He's got that Shishmaref temper; what do you expect?" Kotzebue-born Eskimos claim that the migrants have spoiled their town and are responsible for most of the drinking and crime.

But it is not simply white economic power and the diversity of Eskimo origins which make Eskimos so powerless in Kotzebue. Changes in indigenous

social structure are also a crucial factor. We have noted above that at one time the Umelik, or wealthy villager, had real power in his village. The economic changes that have occurred to Alaskan Eskimos make it unlikely that many in Kotzebue can lay claim to Umelik status, if such a status even remains.

In confrontation with better-educated whites, most Kotzebue Eskimos lack the confidence of their convictions. The Eskimos Smith observed were critical analysts among themselves, able to offer concrete and effective suggestions, valid for local needs. At council meetings, however, they failed to articulate, or to demand implementation of needed changes. Instead, they looked either to white spokesmen whose views happened to coincide with their own, or else appeared stoically indifferent.

Leadership patterns also reflect the acculturative process. A shift is taking place from the older Eskimo pattern of informal community government and social control to one in which power is located in elected officials. Because of older attitudes, the present native leaders, council-men, and other appointed officials have little prestige in the eyes of the population and little influence besides that directly assigned to their position. Here, the crucial issue is the continued feeling of inadequacy on the part of natives vis-á-vis whites, which, as Smith notes in a series of interviews with natives, can stem even from the smaller native physical stature.

Even highly successful individuals and articulate youngsters often feel completely unable to deal with white leadership. In discussing Eskimo attitudes toward and involvement in the National Guard, Smith notes that a Guard unit with a strength of 130 members should have eight officers where only one now exists. This is because all of the Eskimos who have been sent to Officer's Candidate School have "washed out." Indeed, individuals treated in a derogatory fashion, whose schooling is geared toward making them feel inadequate

tend to develop attitudes of self-denigration. This is even more of a problem when the basic value system of the people, denigrated by whites, stresses non-competitive egalitarianism. Further, as is true for many American Negroes, Alaskan Eskimos of the present are not helped to be aware of their own cultural heritage, and thus derive no inner strength from it.

Income and Employment

If wage employment is an important factor for Eskimos in their decision to move to Kotzebue,[59] the level of employment available would not be attractive to most whites. First of all, employment in the area is dependent upon the individual seeking out a job himself, as there are no employment agencies. With an estimated cost of living index of approximately 186, based on a Seattle norm, which is itself three per cent above the U.S. average, Kotzebue is also a very expensive place to live. Thus, stable employment is more of a necessity here than in small villages.[60]

But, when found, employment is spotty, seasonal, and limited to a few categories. For example, the 1964 Standard Industrial Survey Report indicated an estimated total employment of 521. This employment was essentially connected to the Public Health Service Hospital, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the B. & R. Tug and Barge Line which hires at least 250 seasonal employees, but only 14 year-round employees. Wien Consolidated Airlines and the FAA Weather Bureau rounded out the major employment picture at that time. More recently, the Cooperative Fishery, which was organized to help local Eskimos get a better price for their fish, has contributed to the economy at a minor level.

Even under these conditions of minimal employment, most of the population presently depends on a cash economy for most of its livelihood. By 1965 there was, according to Smith, a cash flow of some $5,000,000 in the community. She notes the largest single employer in 1965 was the Plant Construction Development

Division of the BIA, having a crew of 85 men, mostly Eskimos. The year's payroll for this organization was in excess of $1,200,000. The hospital employs 31 Eskimos as nurses' aides and clerical help. The combined hospital payroll to the Eskimos is approximately $200,000 per year. The BIA school hired seven Eskimos for clerical, kitchen, and maintenance work with an annual payroll of $50,000.

The estimated 200 other permanently employed Eskimos had jobs in the Post Office, the DEW Line site, with the barge company, and with the two airlines. Most of this, however, is seasonal construction employment, and a critical factor for such work is that the periods of wage payment primarily fall in the same quarter, and thus do not provide for unemployment compensation.

Smith also indicates that the tourist industry, though bringing in perhaps 4,000 persons per year (the actual figure is secret and closely guarded by the airlines), employs very few Eskimos, since comparatively few of the souvenirs, including the ivory carvings, are produced in Kotzebue. The expert carvers are the "salt water men" of the Diomedes and King Island. Thus, she estimated that even in the best of times overall employment was approximately 25 per cent.

Smith[61] notes that the canneries still employ about a hundred men in the summer, although this is highly dependent on the size of the catch. Employment in the mines and railroads has declined, but there has been an increasing amount of construction lately, both federal and private. Native women are also beginning to work for wages, with some 20-25 Eskimo women working at the PHS hospital.

Another important source of income for young women is babysitting and housecleaning in the homes of white families. This work brings about more acculturating contact and greater desires for a Western standard of life.[62]

It is interesting to note that almost all the adult males list their occupations as construction (their orientation toward a cash economy) even though it is clear that hunting and fishing are economically at least as important for many of them. Along with the increase in wage-paying jobs, there is a desire for Western material goods. Recreational activities also absorb some cash, and the mass media whet appetites for continued Western articles of clothing and for luxury items.

Although it is declining sharply, the traditional Eskimo practice of sharing food still exists in Kotzebue. As the transition to a cash economy increases, people become more reluctant to give things away that they have purchased in the store. More and more complaints are heard in Kotzebue about "spongers." Some Eskimos have begun to set up their own small enterprises and sell surplus fish and other items which were formerly shared. Another element involved in the decline of community sharing patterns is the increased availability of government welfare and relief funds. People now feel that such funds relieve them of caring for needy community members. Of course, the continued influx of migrants makes it a community with reduced mutual expectations of support in times of need. It is effectively a community of strangers in many ways.

Thus, while wage work is available in substantially greater amounts than in the small villages, it is still inadequate to the needs of the burgeoning population. More importantly, needs and expectations of work which have no realistic possibility of fulfillment have been created. This situation adds to the generally subordinate position of Kotzebue natives, and is exacerbated by the higher prices natives must pay for goods because they do not have capital to buy them in bulk, and because of the quite regressive sales tax they operate under. Overall, then, the economic position of Kotzebuers is worse

than that of villagers who are not faced with the same cash needs and the conditions of their subordinate status.

Integration of Traditional Subsistence and Wage Work

Some degree of subsistence hunting is still important in Kotzebue, but its importance economically and socially is affected by a variety of factors. First of all, the availability of marine animals and the existence of a traditional attitude toward hunting them are both reduced below conditions in Barrow. The local population feels that there are fewer caribou and moose within easy hunting range for them than they need in order to sustain an intensive hunting tradition. On the other hand there are many fishermen in Kotzebue, and fish are important in the subsistence economy.

These factors operate together with a rapidly changing cultural attitude toward hunting. While older and middle-aged people still hold the hunter in high repute,[63] young people look down on hunting as backward and old fashionedly Eskimo and, in turn, do not receive the kind of training from older people which would make them effective hunters. Thus there is much less subsistence hunting in Kotzebue than in Barrow, and it is less adequately integrated with wage work. This is not to say, however, that it is not an important part of the livelihood of some families. Fishing brings in a substantial income to some. Moreover, a good fisherman is looked up to and identified as a "real Eskimo."

Interracial Contact and Quality of Life

We have already indicated some of the dimensions of interracial contact above, especially in terms of political and economic relationships. Interracial contact is a pervasive phenomenon with at least two broad dimensions: white attitudes toward natives, and native attitudes toward whites. An additional and extremely important aspect of such contact, however, is the

self-perceptions of both groups and manner in which these relate to the changes which are occurring in social structure, values, child rearing, and general expectations. Of fundamental importance are the ways in which these are caused by and interrelated with native-white contact through Western institutions of government, service, and education.

Perhaps the easiest of these phenomena to characterize is that of white attitudes toward natives. Not all whites share the same attitudes, but so substantial a number does that one may speak of "typical" white attitudes with some certainty.

Many of the whites who are stationed in Kotzebue tend themselves to be culturally displaced[64] and are notvvery happy about it. They often criticize Eskimos as one of their chief means of diversion. These criticisms tend to be that Eskimos (1) fail to communicate with their children; (2) fail to discipline their children; (3) fail to plan ahead in the use of money; and (4) drink to excess. In reality, Smith argues, in an effort to give their children the best possible education, a number of Eskimo families make very great financial sacrifices, even though the parents themselves did not obtain a high level of education and are poorly equipped to become competent counsellors in their children's choice of occupational goals. Silence on the part of parents seems to reflect a tacit admission of their ignorance rather than a lack of interest in their children. Discipline procedures are different from Euro-American ones, not lacking.

The contrast between white and Eskimo income and the degree of financial security between whites and Eskimos makes the criticism of Eskimo planning ludicrous. Eskimos, Smith says, have always planned ahead. Proportionate to income, money is first used for food, clothing, and essential equipment, and ultimately for home improvements.

Kotzebue whites seem generally unable to understand native culture. Further, because they are in a position of power, they tend to denigrate what they do not understand, comparing it unfavorably to what they know best, and using themselves as an absolute standard of what is proper. This is textbook ethnocentrism and as such is unremarkable. But, what results from this misperception and from contact initiated in such an atmosphere is a potentially explosive situation. Rodahl[65] in discussing the general impact of whites on natives details some of the ways in which white actions, based on ethnocentrism and prejudice have destroyed native self perceptions and social institutions. One of the critical areas is that of sexual relationships. White perceptions of native women as potential sex objects who are not quite human are standard Kotzebue beliefs, resembling those held for so long by whites about Negroes in the southern part of the United States.

This attitude feeds directly into existing native self perceptions. Many native women may make themselves sexually available to whites out of a desire for sexual pleasure, but there is a symbolic level to such interactions which is known and understood by whites and natives alike. These sexual standards are the actions of a conqueror toward the conquered, and both sides appear to perceive them as such. Native self-denigration and a desire by women to marry whites (hopefully to escape Kotzebue) make young Eskimo men here (as in Barrow and elsewhere) explosively angry. Such hostility has resulted in few overt acts, but the undercurrent of feeling is intense.

This hostility is intensified by the ethnocentric attitudes and behavior of white ministers and school teachers, most of whom thought in the past and still think Eskimos a superstitious and backward people. Role distance is thus maintained by the whites, creating and maintaining a feeling of inadequacy on the part of the natives. A refusal to "descend," on the part of the

missionaries, further exacerbates conditions.[66]

Children here are still raised, as in the past, permissively - sometimes to the horror and dismay of teachers and ministers. The Eskimo patterns of employment and unemployment compensation, which seem well-established and an intelligent adaptation to the realities of life, also tend to disturb many local missionaries and teachers. Smith[67] notes that most whites here seem to believe that love and human life could not exist under the ordinary circumstance of Eskimo life. Therefore, attempts are made to embarrass and badger the Eskimos into white ways. Even doctors who administer to these people tend to be prejudiced against them.

Prejudice, overt and covert, has taken a variety of forms in the characteristic posture of whites toward natives. Unable to perceive the changes they are in part creating, and judging native behavior by their own ethnocentric standards, these whites are by and large incapable of warm human-to-human contact with natives.

Eskimos, however, also misperceive white values and institutions. For example, they often do not understand the relationship between certain kinds of activities and their material rewards. Smith notes that her informants support the opinion that Eskimos generally want the material benefits of white culture, and now aspire to many white social values, as well. They want the assurance of a wage economy with the security it represents and also some of the luxuries it provides. They want to be considered Americans, and not just Eskimos, but they are not clear about what this implies.

Eskimos are critical of the number of white institutions and of the whites associated with them. They are ambivalent about public boarding schools, often because children who come back from boarding schools in the summer, after the initial excitement of being reunited with relatives and friends wears off,

express dissatisfaction with inconvenient, overcrowded Eskimo homes. Upon more than one occasion, Smith's presence as a white in an Eskimo home was an obvious source of embarrassment to a teenager who tried to slip away unnoticed.

Young men are especially bewildered in this situation. They want a good job and status immediately, but being comparatively unskilled in any of the jobs that are regularly in demand, they cannot obtain adequate employment. Since few families make any demands on unmarried sons to work or contribute to the family economy, their life on a quasi-adult level represents an opportunity to engage in whatever activity a momentary whim might dictate. Most Eskimos consider school work difficult, so doing nothing seems to be interpreted as a compensatory return for the arduous task of education. Yet, money for the purchase of clothes, guns, liquor, and snow machines is a white man's reality, purchased (rather than earned) at the loss of personal freedom. Job instability is high among young Kotzebue Eskimos and this, too, breeds anti-white feeling. The young feel inadequate in both cultures. It is commonly accepted and believed by both old and young that the young could no longer survive in a subsistence economy.

Smith notes that Van Stone[68] describes an effective village council at Point Hope, as does Spencer[69] for Point Barrow. Casual observation of Eskimos in these two councils during 1965 indicates that Eskimos are continuing to participate in community affairs as they did at the time of these field studies. Native councils at Kiana and Noorvik, composed entirely of Eskimo officers, served as spokesmen for the entire village and their decisions were final. This is in contrast to the situation in Kotzebue, where community cohesiveness and Eskimo leadership are conspicuously absent.

Generalized distrust acts to foster an essentially conservative viewpoint. For example, there is a distinctly parochial distrust of Russians (at least in

part because some men from the village have been detained by Russians in the past) as well as a traditional dislike and distrust of Indians. The Kotzebuers also misunderstand some of the functions of government agencies which do not directly touch Eskimo lives, and this leads to more distrust. One informant complained that "The FAA has all those planes. Why don't they do something to stop those Indians, and protect us?" (This statement occurred in relation to a problem about some Indians forcing an Eskimo to cross the sound at gun-point).

Kotzebue natives distrust and dislike most whites, as we have noted above, in part because they misperceive the meaning of some Western institutions, and in part because they correctly perceive the prejudice directed toward them - a prejudice which they have in part internalized and in part are fighting against. It is instructive to see the manner in which other aspects of culture change influence and reinforce such perceptions and feelings. Perhaps one of the most critical aspects of culture change has been education.

Education

Motivation for educational achievement in Kotzebue is directly related to the cash economy. While the traditional Eskimo activities are becoming less important in Kotzebue there is a growing desire for and availability of Western items. So the relative abundance in Kotzebue of paid jobs for both white and Eskimo, compared to their dearth in small villages, strengthens the view that education is relevant for attaining these ends. Thus, people who occupy such job positions function as models after whom youngsters can pattern their behavior.

But Smith notes that relationships with teachers in the schools are very poor. The teachers may be adequate as far as teaching is concerned, but they are socially distant from the children and their perceived role as the people

who are always telling Eskimo children what they can't do causes communication gaps. Children do not seek information about educational opportunities or jobs from teachers, especially since they feel that the teachers are disinterested in giving them this information.

There is a great deal of ambivalence about leaving Kotzebue to live and work after completing education. On the one hand, many want to leave; on the other hand, they are not sure what awaits them elsewhere. Given these attitudes toward migration, many young people who have either attended Mt. Edgecombe High School for a few years or have graduated are pessimistic about their chances of utilizing their education for vocational advancement. Many Eskimos report that they can get no job in Kotzebue in which they can use what they have learned in school. This feeling is widespread among young people who have either received a high school education or tried to evaluate the relevance of education for obtaining work in Kotzebue. This, of course, raises questions about what education is for. The era of seeing education as a magic tool for job acquisition is dying in the rest of the United States. Yet, this moribund conception is being perpetuated in native education. Native children, then, are being prepared for a world which is increasingly irrelevant. Traditionally open, expressive egalitarian Alaskan native attitudes are admirably suited for contemporary educational approaches. Apparently, however, in Alaska native children are being trained out of this freedom, and into a rigid, inappropriate mold. In a sense it is fortunate that this "education" is not really "taking," but it has been all-pervasive enough to be destructive of many native persons involved in it.

Our own TAT analyses of Alaskan native students at the University of Alaska (to be published) supports completely Parker's 1964 work in Kotzebue, and makes it extremely difficult for this writer to maintain a distant, detached

view of educational developments. The education thus far provided native students, so far as we can determine, has produced uncertain, anxiety-ridden and unhappy young people, paying a terrible price for what little they have "achieved."

Values and Their Changes

Boys usually express the desire to engage in hunting and fishing as a sport or as a means of supplementing regular income rather than as a main economic activity. A steady wage job is the ideal. Girls actually express a disdain for the traditional economic activities of Eskimo women.[70] They manifest a strong desire to migrate from the village to seek work, since there are relatively few opportunities for women to obtain jobs in Kotzebue.

There is a definite split between the ways of life and values of the older and younger generations. Young people readily express a disinclination to follow traditional Eskimo patterns, yet they usually entertain serious doubts about their ability to support themselves in any other way. These differences affect the perception of education by the parental generation. The older parents in particular feel the negative attitudes of the young toward Eskimo life patterns to be the result of their experiences at Mt. Edgecumbe High School. Younger parents who are anxious for children to obtain a high school education do not blame the school for confusion of their children, but they realize that sending their children away estranges them from home and parents, and very often results in their migration from the village.

Kotzebue young people are more complex and confused than their elders.[71] For the most part, older people regard themselves as Eskimo, but many of them feel that this is no longer a feasible way of life for their children. Among the adolescents and young adults, a deeper change is occurring. Not only are the young people thinking in terms of acquiring the material benefits of white

society, but they also tend to look down on the Eskimo language and other aspects of Eskimo life. There is definite evidence that young people are ashamed of being Eskimo. They indicate a rejection of the pattern of many traditional Eskimo mores and a desire to obtain the status symbols of Western society. White ways of life are considered better and more respectable than Eskimo.

Kotzebue is therefore at a crossroad. Its young people think increasingly in terms of becoming American, and are confused about the degree to which they will be accepted in white society.

Recent socio-economic changes are making serious inroads on the basic aboriginal value orientation and are producing a trend toward non-cooperative individualism. Familistic concepts are dying because there is a variety of alternative choices available to people now. There is a variety of opportunities for some individuals to have different kinds of material possessions from the rest of the people in the village. Many of the people who are migrants into Kotzebue have a higher level of educational achievement than those born in the community. As we have noted, education is one of the important motives for migrating into Kotzebue. This migration has weakened the bond of kinship obligations and tends to select individuals motivated to acquire an education and an essentially individualistic orientation.

Traditional egalitarianism is still a very important value, but individual achievement is accepted as long as the individual does not try to act like a "big shot." Young people's horizons have been broadened to include the possibility of obtaining more material benefits and living better than others. To the extent that the economic system will permit the utilization of skills learned in schools, the decline of egalitarianism will probably be associated with increased receptivity to education. Thus, a class structure seems well

on the way to being developed.

Further complicating the matter is something that should be a great benefit. There is much respect for the integrity of the individual in Eskimo life. Parents are very reluctant to direct their children's way of life. However, though Eskimos rarely talk to each other about personal problems (even children to parents), there has been increased awareness among Eskimos that this aspect of their culture may be disadvantageous, at least economically. Some Eskimo parents appear to be becoming more involved in trying to get their children to go to school. There is also present, of course, strong negative reaction toward the rigid and harsh discipline at Mt. Edgecumbe High School. In fact, the people here were able to express their anger about most of the constricting social situations. Many Eskimos seem to perceive these constrictions as an attempt by the white world to freeze them out.

Values concerning active mastery versus fatalism as basic strategies toward life show very little difference when compared with the values of an unacculturated community, according to Parker.[72] That is, there is a strong tendency to accept what is, in part reinforced by the personal helplessness which is fostered by an inadequate education. In general, the young Eskimo's image of himself as a student includes a strong element of personal devaluation and inferiority. The manner in which teachers deal with Eskimo students in the early grades probably contributes to their devalued self-image.

Social Control

Traditionally, social control in Alaskan Eskimo communities was a function of public opinion, the power of the kin group, and in large part, the strength of the local Umelik and the power of the shaman. The egalitarian and non-constrictive child rearing pattern developed adults who were secure, adequate in their functioning, personally autonomous, and inclined to face interference

with their personal wishes very aggressively. Children were considered to be individual humans with individual rights. Beatings and corporal punishment were unheard of. Instead, children were socialized into adulthood by example and love, though ridicule was also used as was the threatened loss of parental affection on occasion.

What resulted from this kind of socialization was an individual who understood his relationships to others through well-defined kinship ties, real and fictive, and who essentially made his life choices within the framework of traditional values. The traditional values passed on by elders were accepted at face value and the judgments of elders were felt to be immensely valuable.

Such an acceptance of an elder's word was no doubt an important part of survival. If he (or she) had lived a long time in so harsh a climate he must have been doing something right and his accumulated wisdom was well worth listening to. Moreover, this was probably, in part, the genesis of the unusual truthfulness in Eskimo communities. When a man returned from hunting he told every detail of the trip to those who would listen. Every detail was important since one never knew when a small piece of information about the environment might make the difference between life and death.[73]

Traditionally, property was not very rigidly defined: that is, if a man needed something and someone else had it, he often took it, expecting similar treatment. This was not seen as theft, but as the necessary commonality of property under difficult life conditions. Naturally, much of the foregoing would be doomed to change through contact. Yet, certain attitudes about behavior often change more slowly than the behavior itself. In specific cases this can cause new problems.

Presently, informal social control has broken down. Traditional wisdom has been so denigrated - and in many cases is so irrelevant - that it is no

longer an important part of socialization. Yet, the socialization patterns and many of the underlying attitudes remain the same. The confusion of Kotzebue life and the mixture of different peoples has led to a breakdown of communal responsibility. Umeliks and shamans are gone and in their place are a white power structure, white missionaries, and the police. The police and local magistrates are now the formal social control agents.

The belief in sharing still exists, but the present economic realities mean that true sharing penalizes the most productive Kotzebuers, leading to a disinterest in work. Yet the Kotzebuers have never been able to control any of the processes leading to the present state of affairs.

It is in this context that the recent rash of petty violations[74] by gangs of teenagers must be viewed. The first quasi-gangs appeared in 1964-1965, and white parents were deeply disturbed because their children had been set upon and beaten by such groups, though the aggression was directed less toward white children than toward other Eskimos. Choking of children by their schoolmates reached such serious proportions that the medical officers spoke to the assembled pupils, explaining that potential brain damage, as well as loss of life might occur from strangulation. There has been a great deal of glue sniffing for "kicks," and Smith suggests (though we do not feel that this is an immediate problem) that there is a real possibility of the formation of young adult gangs directed against whites.

Smith also notes another social fact commonly conceived as a problem: overindulgence in alcohol. City-owned liquor stores emerged in 1965 through a town vote, and consequently large amounts of liquor were bought locally. Eskimo consumption (as we have noted for Barrow) of liquor is ordinarily binge drinking rather than alcoholism. Even so, marital infidelity and sexual promiscuity which follow the binge drinking are the causes of most of the

local divorces and are seen as a serious problem.[75] Though some of this is the remnant of an aboriginal pattern of sexual behavior pushed out of shape and distorted by the changed social context in which it occurs today, such behavior originally led to white disdain and still does. The effects on the native psyche and culture are enormous.

A year and a half after the introduction of liquor stores, the villagers, uncomfortable about the drinking problem, voted the town dry. Presently there is a move underway to reinstate the sale of liquor, but it faces severe church and other sanctions. This is an instructive example of ambivalence regarding white values, and internalization of white attitudes toward native drinking as we have noted for Barrow.

However, real social deviance which may have serious future effects does presently exist. There is a great deal of pilfering and petty theft; such things as boats are stolen, and outboard motors are damaged. Very unreliable behavior accompanies drinking, with attendant shouting and crying. It might be suggested that this, too, represents aboriginal patterns, again distorted against the changed social situation and th. ppropriate. But all of this leads to further feelings of self denigration and inadequacy among Kotzebue Eskimos.

Even when "outside," Kotzebue Eskimos tend to suffer from reinforced feelings of inadequacy, vis-á-vis the larger, better educated whites, and turn to heavy drinking, or they try to pass as something other than Eskimo. One Eskimo went to Dallas and passed as a Niesei, and was very proud of being able to fool her dates. She wanted desperately to stay "out." Even young men who have gotten very good jobs outside, in aeronautical engineering, for example, have quit and come home out of supposed homesickness for hunting and fishing, but more probably out of their feelings of inadequacy.[76] Young women show the greatest interest in leaving. "Who wants to stay here and get pregnant?" is

a typical expression of their attitude. What is known as the "Air Force route" offers the greatest potential of escape. Enough girls are successful in finding servicemen husbands to lend encouragement to others, though the ratio is certainly not high. It is widely assumed (and impressionistically correct) that only the prettiest and most aggressive girls have succeeded. However, there are several divorcees who have returned to Kotzebue when their mixed marriages, acceptable in the Arctic, failed outside.

What makes life even more difficult for the young is that they have no acceptable Eskimo behavior and values to fall back on. The brainwashing (and we use this term advisedly) has been complete. They now believe that anything Eskimo is backward, stupid, and inadequate. Understanding of kin relationships and genealogies, for example, is now of no importance at all. There are, as far as can be discerned, no elemental, aboriginal, shamanistic beliefs still extant in the community. Family organization has collapsed, divorce is very common, and all the adjudicative aspects of Eskimo family organization, public opinion, and judgment effected by kinsmen has been transferred to the American judicial process.[77] Virtually every other cohesive element of traditional Eskimo organization has passed irrevocably out of existence.

The Social Life

Eskimos have claimed Kotzebue gives them more to do than the villages. Yet, even in this regard the overall position of Eskimos in the community colors the kinds of enjoyment available. This is made more of a problem by the conservatism shown by many older Eskimos.[78] This conservatism and distrust, even of other Eskimos, is reflected in and exacerbated by the local religious situation. Religion has now become very complicated because of the introduction of a number of religious organizations - Baptist, Church of God, Catholic, Episcopal - all vying for the villagers. The Church of God, operating a store

with the mission to cover expenses, combines the issue of religion with that of economics. The Friends (not Quakers) is the ranking social church in the community, and represents the aged Kotzebue residents and their descendants. They are strongly conservative and adamant against the use of tobacco and alcohol, and prohibit dancing. Consequently, very few of the young people attend church - they flatly state that the Friend's attitude is "square." The Friends initiated a private high school in 1961, but inadequate enrollment necessitated its closing in 1964. The students who had attended complained that discipline was too strict. In large measure, going to church appears to be a form of activity which affords a social outlet and change of scene, as does the motion picture theater.

The Kotzebue motion picture theater is small, but well attended, even though it shows mostly B-type movies. Two coffee houses, only one of which was in operation during 1965, provide the only other social and recreational outlet for the teenage and adult groups. The dance floor measured a scant 12 by 12 feet, and even the Eskimos who frequented it nightly to dance to the jukebox music describe it as a "filthy hole, but where else is there to go?" There is no serious recreational activity available for anyone. This is at least one of the reasons why employed Eskimo men hunt as a recreation. Major employers note that even the most stable employees reach a point of restlessness, especially during summer construction work when extra shifts are instituted, and go off hunting for a couple of days.

If religious observation, movies, coffee houses, and hunting are the major social recreations for natives, community recreation by whites is of an entirely different sort. The 1965 Fourth of July festivities were extremely well organized, but organized only by whites. There was some "Eskimo Olympic" type competition, muktuk eating contests, etc.; the U.S. Air Force donated small

cargo planes; white merchants set up food concessions; the Governor and a U.S. Senator put in appearances. But the Eskimos were singularly devoid of enthusiasm, although they turned out en masse for the programs. There was no evidence of community interest or pride, scarcely a word of congratulation was heard for the winners, although the winners of the dancing and beauty contests would compete later in the Eskimo Olympics held at Fairbanks. It would appear as though the Eskimos do not feel that it is really "their" community. On many levels, of course, it is not.

Even such things as the Messenger Dance, which is often performed for tourists, is of no interest to Eskimos, because Eskimos feel they would be unwanted by the white managers of the house in which it was performed. Young people even consider themselves too shy to participate in the blanket toss. This shyness is probably shame.

The New Values

All of this behavior and confusion has yet another dimension. Self reliance, regardless of how difficult or unrealistic the goal in point, is still an Eskimo value.

The Eskimo idea of success is tied in with the ability to care for one's family, and great contempt is placed on those people who are on welfare. Among the employed there is little patience with the drifters. However, among the very young, contrast between success and failure is not so clearly defined. Oriented toward freedom from parental control, personal possessions, and popularity in their own age group, they may adapt more easily to a "welfare condition." But, in doing so they will come to despise themselves even more, since such an act is antagonistic to one of the few areas of pride which remain to them.

Thus, a particularly violent "double bind" situation presents itself

to the young. Many of the older values their parents would like them to have are inconsistent with present realities. Many of those which are congruent are mistakenly derided by white and Eskimo young and old alike. Yet, some values the young would like to maintain are no longer of interest to their elders, impossible to communicate, or simply difficult to put into operation under present conditions. All of this, of course, is difficult for the young to articulate.

Out of this has come a search for new values. Because money seems so intimately linked with power over one's own destiny and provides access to Western goods, many Kotzebuers have presently expressed the desire to do anything to make money.[79] Women appear to want to sew skins, but do not know how; some would like to tan skins but do not accept the old urine method of tanning, even though they know no other method. Nursery school, newspapers, and a whole variety of employment possibilities have been discussed and attempted.

The great emphasis on money has, however, two basic explanations in addition to actual purchasing power for Western goods. Capital in savings accounts acts as an emergency fund (which is why there is a strong desire to buy insurance), and money is an important status symbol. This orientation tends to conflict with the traditional practice of sharing, however. This is so because most families increasingly consider themselves an individual unit involved in a struggle for survival. Thus, their traditional attitude toward sharing is ambivalent. Their present material possessions, including those needed for subsistence purposes, have been acquired through wage labor or other cash income. Many men are reluctant to lend costly gear, even to teenage sons, for fear of damage. There is some guilt over giving up the Eskimo practice of sharing.

Smith notes other basic and partial changes in Eskimo customs in Kotzebue.

Presently, at the time of marriage, every effort is made by newlyweds to establish their own residence. The aged commonly maintain a separate household from their children. Though child adoption is still very common, government policies encourage legal adoption to facilitate the record-keeping with reference to payments for aid to dependent children and/or temporary foster parent support.

Sexual mores are in a state of flux, but this seems to be an area of behavior in which white Puritan customs are flaunted more than in most other areas. Though no particular stigma is attached to illegitimate children (approximately 15 per cent of the present minor children were born out of wedlock), a certain amount of speculation as to the father is part of local gossip, and though Smith suggests almost no girls at the age of 14 are still virginal, flagrant promiscuity does draw verbal community censure.

In other areas, new values are clearly winning out over aboriginal ones. The introduction of such concepts as "messy," indicative of concern with cleanliness, are new, and no doubt related to school-learned contempt for "dirty" Eskimos. There is a desire for two-story houses and for automobiles, not because they are better, but because they are symbols. If something is "white," it is good.

KOTZEBUE: CONCLUSIONS

The problems of Kotzebue are serious indeed. Even such supposed advantages as government construction, a water system, and a high school have had ambivalent results. The opening of the high school has caused further in-migration, taxing the available housing and sources of employment, and the water supply serves only the commercial core. If juvenile delinquency should increase and an attempt to link teenage drinking and gangs with the youngsters' villages of origin be made, community-wide friction and cleavage may result. Limited

employment opportunities, as well as educational and medical facilities tend to produce in-migration, swelling the population and straining the economy's power to sustain the population. Kotzebue's most serious problems, however, are those of personal identity.

BARROW AND KOTZEBUE: A FINAL OBSERVATION

All in all, as we have seen, mores and values are shifting rapidly in both Kotzebue and Barrow and appear to be complexly intertwined with a series of pathological behaviors. Such changes, however, need not theoretically lead to the social and personal pathology so apparent in Kotzebue and incipient in Barrow. Jenness[80] suggests that the long-term social problem of white-native contact in Alaska has been that while the U.S. government has attempted to provide material and educational benefits for the native population, little has been done to assure economic stability for these same natives.

We would argue that the actual case is more complex. It is in the interaction of an ethnocentric "white" educational system, the introduction of material goods which are not of easy access to natives, and the overall climate of denigration of native culture and personality, that the present conditions of life in these big villages have come about.

Overall, then, the state of the Alaskan native population of Northwest Alaska has the following dimensions:

1. Many people still reside in small villages where
   a. there is little work;
   b. educational opportunities are limited;
   c. there is little opportunity to get into Western social systems;
   d. though subsistence hunting and fishing are generally available, fewer young people are interested in it; and
   e. older cultural patterns have either disappeared or (as in the case of values, philosophy, child rearing, etc.) have gone "underground," and when recognized are despised by many of their practicioners.
2. The systematic denigration of what is native, both at the hands of white culture change agents and natives themselves, has led to:
   a. a depopulation of the villages by younger adults; and

b. an increasing feeling of estrangement by the remaining population.

3. Other factors such as the state of health, large numbers of children, scholastic deficiencies, and a general dissatisfaction with life in the village have complexly intertwined with the above to result in:

   a. a large-scale out-migration to the larger villages where there are increasing problems of lack of control over one's personal destiny;

   b. inadequate income opportunities to match rising consumer expectations;

   c. growing tension in white-Eskimo contacts;

   d. deep-seated resentments and feelings of personal inadequacy on the part of natives.

The final result, movement to Fairbanks, Anchorage, or out of the state is so poorly understood at present that little systematic evidence of life in these larger places exists. Impressionistically, we may hypothesize that the quality of life in the large cities does not improve much over that in the large villages. In fact, it may be even more stressful.

FOOTNOTES

[1]This pattern is of course substantially different for the natives of Southeast Alaska, where large villages existed as permanent settlements.

[2]Adequate information especially through time on the number of natives in urban regions in Alaska is poor. Our best present estimates suggest 2000-2500 natives in Fairbanks (perhaps 500 Eskimos) and 6000-9000 natives in Anchorage (perhaps one-half Eskimo).

[3]It may not even be true for the small villages where it appears to be so. The high variability in individual village size through time and the small numbers involved make any statistical statement risky.

[4]We are indebted to Everett Lee of the University of Massachusetts for insights into the possible meaning of some of these figures.

[5]Independent confirmation for this comes from Arlon R. Tussing and Robert D. Arnold, 1969:

> While migration to urban places in Alaska and to other states is occurring, villages are not vanishing from the scene today, as is often assumed. There are 12 fewer separate Native places (of 25 or more persons) than were indicated in the 1950 census, but more than 80% of the places continuing to exist are larger than they were seventeen years ago.

[6]We are using the term here in a very special sense as a particular aspect of acculturation. Urbanization in this context would mean the ability to adapt to and manipulate the urban environment and to develop behavioral and value patterns commensurate with the urban American norm.

[7]See Hippler, 1968a and 1968b.

[8]See Chance 1960, 1965, 1966; Hippler 1968; Hughes 1960; Murphy 1962; Parker 1962; Smith 1966; and Thompson 1951.

[9]There is now some confirmatory evidence that such perceptions on the part of teachers strongly color pupil response and achievement. See Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968.

[10]Information for this study was collected as part of a 1967-68 study of Northwest Alaskan Economic Development being done by the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, University of Alaska, under the auspices of the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska.

[11]See United States Census of Population, 1939, 1950, 1960.

[12]A study is currently underway through I.S.E.G.R. to investigate the dimensions of Alaskan native acculturation in both Anchorage and Fairbanks.

[13]See Murdoch, 1892 and 1898.

[14]Even though these are not genetically the same people, since most of the present Barrow population is descended from Nunamiut migrants to the Coast.

[15]See Steffansson, 1924.

[16]This is not to imply that there were no levels of social ranking. In general, however, equality was and is an Eskimo value.

[17]See Hughes, 1965.

[18]See Chance, 1964 and 1966.

[19]See Chance, 1964.

[20]See Spencer, 1959.

[21]Ibid.

[22]See Spencer, 1954.

[23]See Spencer, 1959.

[24]Though this is not the place for a discussion of the influence of childrearing patterns on adult behavior (see DeVos and Hippler, 1969, for a summary discussion of the literature on this subject), we might make some general observations. The type of adult produced by this kind of child-rearing is not admirably suited for a culture dominated by the "Protestant ethic"and "achievement ethos" (see McClelland, 1953, 1955, for discussion). There is, however, a need for more detailed discussion of this subject as it relates to Alaskan Eskimos.

[25]See Chance, 1964, 1966; Murdoch 1893, 1889; M. Spencer 1954; R. Spencer 1959; and Stefansson 1924, for a fuller ethnographic treatment of earlier life in Barrow.

[26]1967 BIA estimate.

[27]These and other "statistical" data were derived from our own observations, the local banker, local magistrate, and local businessmen.

[28]See Roberts, 1954.

[29]See Rice, Saroff, and Fuller, 1964.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]The general subsistence base of the economy as far as hunting and fishing is concerned, has been worked out in some detail by the Arctic Slope Native Association. The following is a chart of their extrapolations of the 1960-1964 average Barrow subsistence living. It considers a population base of 1,200 to 1,400 persons.

Animals	Number Killed	Total No. Pounds Represented
Whale	7	280,000
Walrus	16	8,000
Ugruk	112	33,000
Natchilk	20	1,400
Caribou	1,800	360,000
Duck	1,200	1,200
Fish	--	28,000
Moose	20	6,000
		717,600

The poundage, 717,600 lbs. divided by 1,200 people equals 590 pounds of meat per person. This is a high rate of meat consumption. Even if the figure is inflated by a factor of two, it is clear that subsistence hunting is still vital, even in a village like Barrow.

[34]An additional, not insignificant factor in this migration of girls out of Barrow is the lack of secure, well-paying jobs for Eskimo girls in Barrow.

[35]This would tend to suggest that it is not alone the BIA, but the teachers whom it selects that contributes to educational good and ill.

[36]In a sense, it is irrelevant whether these reputations are inaccurate or not. That villagers have such perceptions indicates that some lack of meaningful contact between the BIA and village exists.

[37]See Ray and Parker, 1962.

[38]It is highly probable that in most cases this is done with the "best" of motives. A fervent belief on the part of the teacher that he must prepare his wards for contemporary society, and a lack of comprehension about the meaning of cultural pluralism inevitably leads to such behavior. Parker, 1964, comments on this problem at length.

[39]Both Parker's work and our own TAT's suggest that this has happened.

[40]See Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968.

[41]See Szasz, 1961. Szasz strikingly points out the value-laden judgments associated with terming a thing "pathology," and some of the undesired results (one called pathological indeed often becomes pathological).

[42]Personal communication.

[43]See Spencer, 1959.

[44]See Nelson, 1900.

[45]See Smith, 1966.

[46]See Nelson, 1900.

[47]See Heinrich, 1963.

[48]See Nelson, 1900.

[49]See Parker, 1964.

[50]See Smith, 1966.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

[54]See Hughes, 1960.

[55]See Parker, 1964 and Smith, 1966.

[56]See Smith, 1966.

[57]See Nelson, 1900.

[58]See Smith, 1966.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Kotzebue Community Survey, 1964, BIA, p.7.

61See Smith, 1966.

[62]This has also been noted in Gambell, a much smaller village. See Hughes, 1960.

[63]See Smith, 1966.

[64]Ibid.

[65]See Rodahl, 1963.

[66]See Berreman, 1964, for a discussion of such "role distance" and its effects on an Aleut community.

[67]See Smith, 1966.

[68]See Van Stone, 1962.

[69]See Spencer, 1959.

[70]Note similarity to Barrow. Hughes, 1960, also notes this for Gambell.

[71]See Parker, 1964.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Nelson, 1967, notes these same behavior patterns among contemporary Eskimos at Wainwright, as does Gubser, 1965, at Anaktuvuk.

[74]See Smith, 1966.

[75]The increased consuption of liquor is correlated with both the availability of liquor and the wage economy, a pattern quite similar to one described for A Canadian Arctic village by Honigmann. See Honigmann, 1965.

[76] See Smith, 1966.

[77]Much to the delight of many (unnamed) public officials and others in the state who feel that the existence of a jail and a policeman is excellent de facto evidence that a village has become "civilized."

[78]See Smith, 1966.

[79]Ibid.

[80]See Jenness, 1962.

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